22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

of personally contributing to the support and extension of missionary agencies. These measures resulted in the commencement of a commerce that has since reached considerable dimensions, and still continues to extend every year; while the native churches now meet the total expenses of the Missionaries, Native Ministers, and religious institutions amongst them. The islands have also been brought thereby into much closer, and more frequent, intercourse with the Australasian colonies of Great Britain.

The present mode of making oil is both rude and wasteful. With proper machinery, double the quantity of oil could be obtained from the same number of nuts now used. By the present native system from sixty to seventy nuts are required for every gallon of oil: whereas by the use of suitable machinery one gallon can easily be obtained from only thirty good oil-yielding nuts. Some persons very competent to judge, have not hesitated to say, that this quantity can readily be expressed from even twenty nuts. But, be this as it may, the value of a plantation of cocoa-nut trees, properly attended to, may soon be calculated: and, where the nuts of this prolific palm have been allowed, hitherto, to perish on the ground by millions every year, there must certainly be a good opening for European appliances and industry. The estimated produce of a full-bearing tree is from ninety to one hundred nuts per annum. A plantation therefore, of a few thousand trees would yield a good income. Already several of the residents, who, in by-gone days, landed on the shores of these islands, destitute wanderers, have, through the assistance of the Missionaries, and by the development of this

30:4 Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,S (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

Coconuts are one of the most intrinsic elements of life in Tonga, for they have countless domestic and commercial uses. The manufacture of copra (dried meat of the coconut) is Tonga's most valuable industry. *Above:* Husking a coconut at the Tonga Copra Board in Havelulotoo, Tongatapu. In early 1974, farmers were receiving 2½ Tongan cents for each nut sold to the Copra Board, a government agency which does bulk marketing and shipping of copra. *Opposite, bottom:* Split coconuts drying in the sun to be sold for making copra, Tonga's main export.

Ko e **halanga** pa'anga mahu'inga mo'oni e ngaohi niu 'i Tonga. Ko e ngaahi ta eni 'o hono hoka 'o e niu, fale 'ofisi 'o e Poate Mataka, pea mo hono tauaki 'o e niu.

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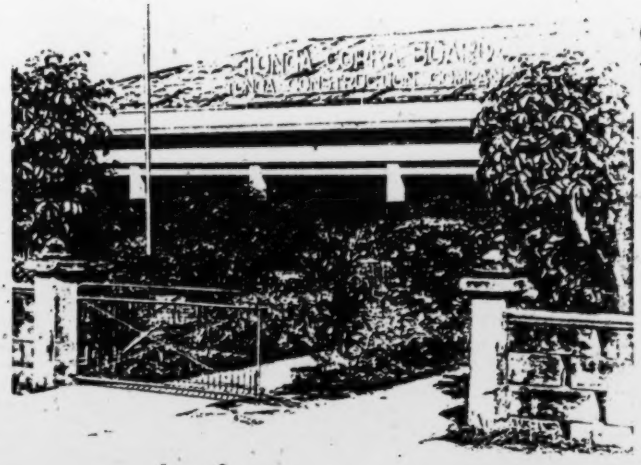

258

[caption is on p. 76]

[p. 77]

434 Wage labor and gifts of money from kinsmen working overseas also contri-
[459] bute substantially to money income.

434 An examination of income data from twenty Puke households indicates
463 that the economic strategy followed by Tongan peasants is security
464 through diversity (Tables 12 and 13).[A] Occupational specialization is usually impractical as most income sources available are affected by
[258] critically-fluctuating market conditions. As an example, the buying of mature coconuts for processing into desiccated coconut sometimes ceases completely so that a grower relying upon this market suffers periods of no income. Over time reliances on various income sources also vary considerably so that a man may do wage labor for a short time until he is fired or the job terminates, and then may fish or make copra if those activities are profitable.

592 In most households women and children, particularly girls, contri-
434 bute substantially to household income by producing basketry, bark cloth,
439 shell jewelry, and other handicrafts. These items are sold directly to tourists in Nuku'alofa or less frequently to exporters. Women also oc-
592 casionally assist their husbands in gardening and fishing.
462

Cash Expenditure: The Spheres of Obligation

434 Tongans generally view cash income as a necessity for meeting three
511 types of obligations: obligation to support one's church (kavenga faka-siasi), obligation to educate one's children (kavenga faka'ako), and obligation to support the members of one's household (kavenga faka'api). Ideally, only after these obligations have been met can an individual

[A][See pp. 76-77--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 78]

245 when bananas surpassed it. In 1969, copra regained its
439 position as the leading export. At present, the bulk of Tongan copra is shipped to continental Europe; some shipments have gone to Japan, Colombia, and Venezuela (Tonga Copra Board records).

In addition to copra, there are a number of other coconut products which are exported commercially: desiccated
[258] coconut, coir products, and whole nuts. Production of desiccated coconut (sliced and quick-dried) for overseas shipment commenced in 1963 at Haveluloto, just outside Nuku'alofa. As of 1971, all coconuts used in its production were obtained from Tongatapu growers who sold them to the Copra Board at permanent buying stations throughout Tongatapu. Desiccated coconut is a source of increasing income to Tonga and its farmers (Table 25). It is generally exported to New Zealand, Australia, the United Kingdom, or Fiji. In 1965, the Copra Board began exporting whole coconuts to Australia and New Zealand. The quantity is small, however, compared to that used for desiccated coconut.

288 In 1963, the Copra Board started a coir fiber industry
655 to utilize the leftover husks from the production of desiccated coconut. The major products were rope, twine, door mats, floor runners, and various types of brushes.
[439] Unfortunately, exports proved unprofitable and the Board has continued only limited production for local consumption.

/201 cont./

245 The copra knife (hele hihi niu) is about 35 centimeters long; the
412 wooden handle and the steel (iron) blade are each one-half the total
[432] length. The natives usually buy the knife in the shops of the chief
[824] towns and then replace the handle with a self-made one (of feta'u wood=
[325] Calophyllum inophyllum) that has a longer, slanting end so that the hele hibi niu can lie more comfortably in the hand; sometimes they also make the entire knife themselves by heating an old blade or corresponding piece of metal in the fire, shaping it with hammer blows on a hard stone, then working it with a file and finally giving it a wooden handle which they attach with nails.

245 Afterwards, they dry the meat in special drying huts (fale faka-momoa niu) for approximately 24 - 36 hours.

245 The drying huts "German New Guinea type" /cited in English/ were
258 not introduced in Tonga until after the second World War. The natives themselves build them. On top of an iron cask lying on the ground and open at both ends (or on two /202/ casks joined to form a longer tube) they place a wooden grate (with an interspace of about one-half meter). The whole is encased in longitudinal walls and a roof of plaited coconut leaves. In the cask (or casks), which sometimes also has a side vent, a fire is built, fed with coconut husks and shells, which produces great heat and little smoke and dries the meat spread out on the grate.

245 Thereafter, the natives cut the coconut meat into still smaller
258 pieces, spread these out once more in the sun for a day; finally, they
432 fill bags with them and store them in the storage hut or the dwelling until there is an opportunity to drive or sail to the nearest receiving station of the Tonga Copra Board /cited in English/; if they near such a station they simply fill their traditional coconut-leaf baskets with copra and take them immediately to be sold.

/202 cont./

245 The entire copra production is carried out chiefly by the men. [462] However, women and girls often help and even do such heavy work as [857] splitting open the nuts and removing the meat. Children and old [887] people of both sexes take part as far as they are able, especially in the easier tasks.

245 Copra is not always and everywhere prepared in this way; the 258 drying huts are more widespread on some islands than on others, and a number of Tongans, limit themselves to drying the meat of the coconuts in the sun for several days. It is only since the second World War that the Tonga dry the copra themselves. Before that the white dealers bought the cut-up coconut meat from the natives and dried it at their trading stations. Since they often bought large quantities and their storage places were limited, they were not always able to handle the copra carefully, and particularly during prolonged rainy periods they stacked the "green copra" and the "dried copra" in alternate layers in their warehouses, in order to dry the former. This method often resulted in a dark and slimy product. Through the creation of the [435] Tonga Copra Board /cited in English/, which permits the natives to carry out the drying process themselves and gives them a stimulus for good work by staggering the prices (for A, B and C quality), Tongan copra has improved a great deal and has risen from almost the poorest level of the entire Pacific to approximately Ceylon-quality.

423 According to present-day law, which has superseded the arbitrary 425 power of chiefs, every Tonga who is granted an api'uta (527)

527. See pp. 172-173.

245 656 must plant 200 coconut /203/ palms. In practice, however, there are sometimes more, sometimes fewer palms on the individual plantations, either scattered over most of the api'uta or concentrated on one-half 245 433 of the land. The copra production of individual families remains about